1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 009 Tonga 009

heiteans, they use an expression of thankfulness for whatever they receive, always lifting it over their heads. (66, p. xlix.)

Relatives, close friends of either or opposite sex, greeted each other, after periods of separation, with the nose-pressure. Among commoners this was called *uma*. Among chiefs the same caress was called *fekita*. A commoner never kissed a chief in this manner—excepting a common woman taken by a chief as a wife or concubine. No one so kissed the Tui Tonga but his favorite wives and his immediate relatives. Others kissed his foot or his hand, according to their rank, by touching the nose thereto.

There were three forms of *uma* or *fekita*: the pressing of nose end to nose end; the pressing of the sides of the noses together; the crossing of noses and pressing together of nostrils. These various methods have no specific names. There were formerly but two correct methods of kissing, namely the first and third; no one but a "country fellow of low birth" would employ the second. The first was employed by relatives and friends, and the third was employed by man and wife or by sweethearts.

In passing, friends always had a conventional word of greeting. Acquaintances used this greeting if of generally equal rank. Enemies usually ignored one another. This salutation made constant use of the term *malo* (well done, it is good), implying praise or approval. For example, if A walked along a road and passed B who was pulling weeds by the roadside, A would say: "Malo e hua" (Well done your pulling weeds). B would answer: "Io, malo e fononga" (Yes, well done your walking by).

Or two men pass each other in fishing boats: A says, "Malo e toutai" (Well done your fishing). B responds, "Io, malo e toutai" (Yes, well done your fishing).

Also, A, carrying a burden by means of a *haamo* (shoulder) stick, passes B who is digging yams. A says, "Malo e keli" (Well done your digging). B responds, "Io, malo e haamo'i" (Yes, well done your carrying a burden).

The special greetings proper to different ranks are given in the list of Tui Tonga and chiefly words.

Delicacy and circumlocution in referring to another's affliction are marked in Tongan conversation. An excellent example is afforded by Thomson's account (54, pp. 279-280) of a leper in Parliament.

The act of registering fear, inferiority, subjection, repentance, or humility is called *hu*, which is done by placing a necklace of Tahitian chestnut (*ifi*) leaves about the neck and sitting with bowed head and hands folded tightly in the lap.

To serve food on a green banana leaf, called *fakaloufusimata*, is a mark of distinction to the one so served. The term *malangafao* refers to the custom at a distribution of food of people rising to fill their baskets with food. Gifts presented at a feast are thrown down.

Men at times sit in the same style as Samoans, one foot on the opposite knee. The more usual style is tailor fashion. (See page 226.)

Babies are carried in a cloth slung over the back and passing under a woman's left arm and over her right shoulder. The baby is usually placed with both feet pointing to the left. They are carried astride the hip, too.

Men wear their shirts tucked inside of the *vala*, or skirt worn about the waist. This cloth is longer than the Samoan *lavalava*, reaching to below the knees and often nearly to the ankles.

Women wear their tunics hanging outside the *vala* around the waist.

Men frequently wear a flower, usually hibiscus, over the ear.

The eyebrows are frequently lifted in assent while listening to the conversation of another.

Diving into water from a height is done feet first, arms out.

Men shave the hair from the legs.

Women shave off the pubic hairs and pull out the axillary hairs.

Men use pieces of coconut husk as toilet wipers, while women use old tapa. The Samoans use stones, a custom regarded contemptuously by the Tongans.

Old men wear the hair shorter than young men. Women, after the menopause (*paa*), also wear the hair quite short.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

sit down. The mataboole, who has the direction of the ceremonies, now advances in front of the people, and orders them to divide themselves in parties, according to their districts; which being done, he gives to one party the business of clearing away the bushes, grass, &c. from one side of the grave, and to another to do the same in regard to another part, a third to remove such and such rubbish, &c. so that the whole neighbourhood of the *fytoca* becomes perfectly clear: this being done, all the people return to their respective temporary houses.

Soon after dark, certain persons stationed at the grave begin again to sound the conchs, while others chant partly in an unknown language*, and partly in Hamoa, a sort of song, or rather a piece of recitative. While this is going on, a number of men in the neighbourhood get ready to come to the grave, to perform a part of the ceremony which the reader will not think altogether consonant with the

* The natives can give no account of what this language is, nor how they originally came to learn the words. It has been handed down from father to son, among that class of people whose business it is to direct burial ceremonies. None of them understand the words. It begins thus: *too fia o chi toccalów eio chi toccalów ca me fafángo eio manáve táwto, &c.* There are several Tonga words among it, and in all probability it is old or corrupted Tonga, though no sense can now be made of it.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

high character for cleanliness which we have given the natives: it must be considered, however, a religious rite, standing upon the foundation of very ancient custom. These men, about sixty in number, assemble before the grave, and wait farther orders. The chanting being finished, and the conchs having ceased to blow, one of the mourners comes forward, seats herself outside the *fytoca*, and addresses the people thus: "Men! ye are gathered here to perform the duty imposed on you; bear up, and let not your exertions be wanting to accomplish the work:" having said this, she retires into the *fytoca*. The men now approach the mount (it being dark), and (if the phrase is allowable) perform their devotions to *Cloacina*, after which they retire. As soon as it is day-light, the following morning, the women of the first rank (wives and daughters of the greatest chiefs), assemble with their female attendants, bringing baskets, one holding one side, and one the other, advancing two and two, with large shells to clear up the depositions of the over night; and in this ceremonious act of humility there is no female of the highest consequence refuses to take her part: some of the mourners in the *fytoca* generally come out to assist, so that in a very little while the place is made perfectly clean: this is re-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

peated the fourteen following nights, and as punctually cleared away by sun-rise every morning. No persons but the agents are allowed to be witnesses of these extraordinary ceremonies, at least it would be considered highly indecorous and irreligious to be so. On the sixteenth day, early in the morning, the same females again assemble; but now they are dressed up in the finest *gnatoo*, and most beautiful Hamoa mats, decorated with ribbons and with wreaths of flowers round their necks: they also bring new baskets, ornamented with flowers, and little brooms very tastefully made: thus equipped, they approach, and act as if they had the same task to do as before, pretending to clear away the dirt, though no dirt is now there, and take it away in their baskets. They then return to the *mooa*, and resume their mourning mats and leaves of the *ifi* tree. Such are the transactions of the fifteen days; every day the ceremony of the burning torches being also repeated. The natives themselves used to express their regret that the filthy part of these ceremonies was necessary to be performed, to demonstrate their great veneration for the high character of Tooitonga, and that it was the duty of the most exalted nobles, even of the most delicate females of rank, to perform the meanest and most disgusting offices, rather than the sa-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

cred ground in which he was buried should remain polluted.

[514] For one month, from the day of burial, greater or less quantities of provisions are brought every day, and shared out to the people. On the first day a prodigious quantity is supplied; but on every succeeding day a less quantity, gradually decreasing till the last, when, comparatively, a very small portion is [784] brought. The expenditure, and we may say waste of provisions, is, however, so great, as to require a *táboo* to be laid on certain kinds of provisions, (see Vol. I. p. 112), which lasts about eight or ten months; and at the end of that time the ceremony of *fuccalahi* is performed to remove it.

TA'BOO.—This word has various shades of signification: it means sacred or consecrated to a god, having the same signification as *fucca égi:* it means prohibited or forbidden, and is applied not only to the thing prohibited, but to the prohibition itself, and frequently (when it is in sacred matters), to the person who breaks the prohibition. Thus if a piece of ground or a house be consecrated to a god, by express declaration, or the burial of a great chief, it is said to be *táboo*; the like if a canoe be consecrated, which is frequently done, that it may be more safe in long voyages, &c. As it is

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
OU9 Tonga OU9

539 278 272 273 **487. Hange ha inu vai tulotula:** Like drinking *tulotula* medicine.

This particular member of the Tongan pharmacopoeia has no pronounced or unpleasant taste and one may drink it like water. Probably the drugs that enter into its composition are not very strong and they do not produce very marked effects. Used of one who drinks large quantities of liquids like kava or spirits without showing any effects.

539 164 577 **488. Hange ha kainiloto:** Like a *kainiloto*.

Kainiloto is an ulcerous or cancerous affection of the throat and nose whose nature is indicated by its name, which means eating inside. The disease has already committed serious ravages in the interior of the body before it becomes apparent on the surface. The phrase is applied to an evil which is hidden at first and only shows up when it has reached a very serious stage and is extremely difficult to cope with.

539 826 752 **489. He oku ai ha hui kape loto:** For is there a bone (needle) to pick out (what is in the) heart?

If one gets a splinter, for instance, in any external part of the body he can easily pick it out with a needle; but there is no needle that can pick out the secrets in the heart.

539 514 758 **490. Kovi jiko ngaoi:** To evacuate the bowels moving about is bad.

This is applied to a sick man, who, instead of lying down patiently and taking the care that his ill health demands, wants to be up and at work. His unwisdom is parallel to that of the man who should try to walk about while performing a function that is obviously inconsistent with walking exercise.

539 758 **491. Mahaki fakapopo fala:** Sickness rotting mat.

Refers to very protracted illness in which the patient is lying down so long that it might be said that his bed mats are rotting under him.

539 757 484 368 **492. Malumalu talavai:** Shady (for) getting medicine.

Probably a late phrase, dating from the establishment of the mission stations and of Government hospitals with their dispensaries. Such dispensaries are naturally in the larger villages and people often travel a considerable distance to reach them. The phrase indicates the cool of the late afternoon suitable for the journey to a village where a dispensary stands.

539 758 183 **493. Mangu bea lau:** Scab and touching with the fingers, that is, picking the scab from a sore.

Making a bad thing worse by meddling.

539 164 554 565 **494. Papanga eiki:** Level chiefs.

Papanga means to be disfigured by having the nose eaten away by a kind of ulceration not very uncommon in these islands. If the nose is gone the face is level, there is no boldly jutting out feature left. So of a gather-

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

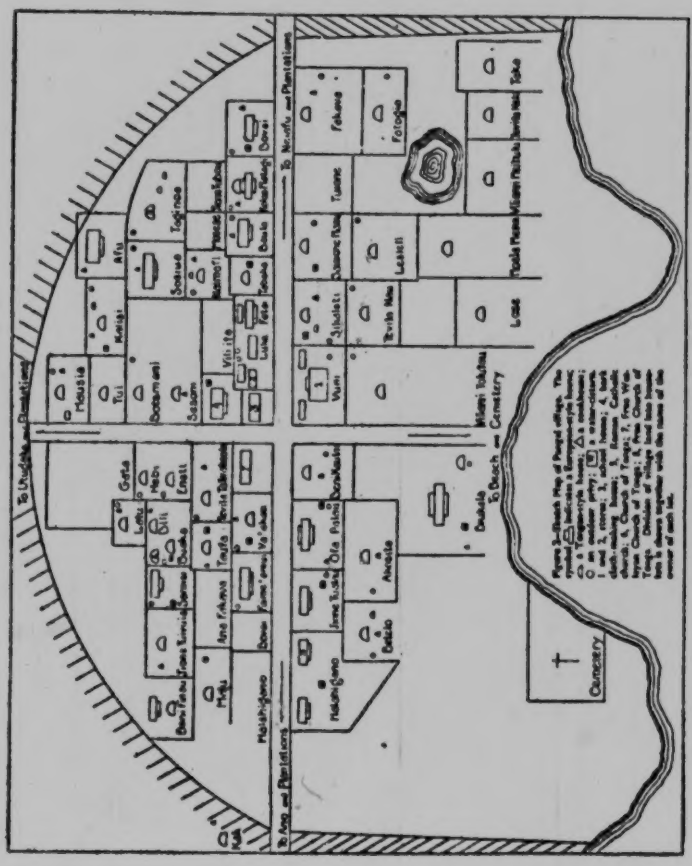

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FIG. 2.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

342 [178] few more of them retain Tongan shape but have frame walls and iron roofs. The old time Tongan house has the advantage of being cool and is fairly easily built. Frame houses are costly to build and hot to live in, but they have the advantage of being generally free from insects and will stand against all but the severest winds. Most of the villagers, if they were [177] free to choose, would build for themselves a European style [185] frame house. It is the ambition of most, indeed, to possess just such a house before they die.

343 514 Practically all the dwelling-houses have an adjacent cook-house. A privy is also found on most household lots. These privies are of the type introduced by Dr. S. M. Lambert as a method of combating hookworm and other tropical 312 diseases. For the whole village there are fourteen concrete cisterns collecting rainwater from the iron roofs of adjacent dwelling-houses to supply the village with water for drinking and domestic purposes. By amicable arrangement householders who do not have a cistern on their lot use the water from the cisterns of close relatives or friends. The cisterns are supposed to be kept covered as a health precaution. Most [164] of them are open. As a consequence, typhoid is by no means an unknown disease.

361 342 There is one dwelling-house only outside the village limits. This is situated on the nearby plantation of its owner, a plantation which borders on the boundary of the village proper. This location of the dwelling-house may [178] well represent a survival of old-time practice when the population lived in the plantations rather than grouped together in a village unit. This grouping of the Tongan 361 commoners in villages has apparently taken place since 565 1773 and is probably due to a breakdown of central 178 authority, consequent wars and fighting, together with the 177 subsequent influence of the Christian missions and the traders.

361 491 The village is intersected by two main "roads" that lead to the beach, the plantations, to near-by villages. By "road" is meant a twenty-foot wide strip of land that is called a road, but is grass-grown for the most part with a narrow track down the middle wide enough for foot or horse travel. Round the village, these "roads" are thick in mud and hard to pass during the rainy season, even on

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
OU9 Tonga OU9
Vavau
Pangai

276 751 *kava* is a mild diuretic. Villagers have plenty of opportunity to notice this effect of *kava* even if they are unclear as to any precise cause and effect relationship between this effect and alleged better health. One reason incidentally, that the (514) villager gives for the rule that the *kava*-making girl should not herself drink is that it would be unseemly for her in the eyes of the men to leave the house frequently to urinate.

276 574 521 The topics that are discussed in the ordinary *kava*-circle are endless in their repetitive rehashing. The state of the cultivations, the gossip and scandal of the village, the strange ways of white people, news and rumour from other villages far and near, actions of government representatives from policemen to high officials, chance remarks heard from passing acquaintances on the island roads, religious doctrine and dogma, dreams and strange events— all these and many other topics are considered from every possible angle and (888) point of view. The older men carry on the discussion while the younger sit quietly and listen. Sometimes the discussion will be spirited with many taking part. At other times it will die down to muttered conversations between one or two men with others dozing or preoccupied with their own thoughts or busily rolling banana leaf cigarettes from the strong and pungent Tongan tobacco. A pause in conversation comes while a fresh round of *kava* is being made. Then discussion gathers new strength. And so it goes for hours on end, sinking and rising according to the spirits of the participants and the lateness of the hour. Younger men of the village obtain from these *kava*-discussions the elements of a liberal education both in the arts and in the crafts of village life. Sometimes the group will spend part of an (533) evening singing. The songs may be either church-hymns or ancient chants.

276 733 *Kava* is a mild narcotic. Excessive drinking often leads to what can well be termed mild cases of drug-addiction. Seven men and one woman are considered in the village to be extremely heavy drinkers whose continual desire for *kava* is in the nature of an obsession. Other men drink heavily at odd times, but not continuously. The results of addiction, according to informants, are personal laziness, physical weakness and domestic trouble. Night after night spent drinking *kava* is likely to leave the addict lazy and

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

Native grown tobacco is smoked in Tonga rolled in pieces of dried banana leaf. These cigarettes seem to be relished more than imported ready-made cigarettes. Tongan school children are thoroughly grounded in the fact that smoking is an American-Indian invention. Its transmission to Tonga and the rest of the world they associate with the name of Christopher Columbus.

Not every foreign trait in modern Tongan culture has been absorbed with as little harm as tobacco. Cricket is one in point. With such fervor was cricket playing undertaken that it became necessary some decades ago to pass laws restricting the playing of the game to certain days of the week.

Horse racing, too, is a favourite pastime and even some remote islands now have race courses.

The dynamiting of fish became so prevalent some years ago that it was necessary to prohibit the use of the explosive for this purpose. Fishing has fallen somewhat into abeyance in certain localities and it is not uncommon for Tongans to buy fish from enterprising Japanese and Caucasian fishermen.

The introduction of cloth has given rise to two new feminine occupations; sewing, often with a machine; and washing. Tapa, the native substitute for cloth, is unwashable. Clothes washing was given a further impulse by the enactment of a law compelling all individuals to wear shirts in public. The lower garment is still the vala or rectangular cloth worn as a skirt. To-day it is of textile material. Shoes are not worn except by the well-to-do.

The police costume is of interest; barefeet, white vala, blue or white coat, and broad-brimmed felt hat.

Speaking of the vala or rectangular cloth wound about the waist as a skirt, it should be noted that the proper length for a gentleman is half-way between the knee and ankle. Shorter valas are worn by cooks. In Samoa valas are worn short. I once heard a Tongan chief remark derisively of the Samoans that "they wear their valas like cooks." I have also heard the Samoans spoken of as barbarians because they have no water closets, which in Tonga are required by law.

Tongans eat with their fingers seated cross-legged on mats with the food before them on other mats. Europeans

361 residential use, but it cannot be allocated for residential
423 purposes because it has not yet been surveyed and divided into town allotments. A brother of one of the present title-holders has repeatedly bragged that he would cut up the man who cuts up his land, and the noble has avoided the risk of precipitating a crisis by not calling in the Department of Lands to make its survey. There is beginning to be a shortage of residential land in Motulahi, however, and already a number of town allotments are occupied by more than one household.

351 Town allotments present a decidedly non-uniform appearance. Besides whatever vegetation there may be on the 'api, each household has a number of different-looking
[342] structures. First, there is the main house, comprising
343 living and sleeping quarters. Then there is the beito, an
351 open-sided lean-to adjacent to the house or a few feet
[514] away, which serves as a kitchen or cook-house. Somewhat
[515] further away from the main house there is a small enclosure over a pit-latrine (fale mālōlō) and another enclosure,
[513] usually open-roofed, used for bathing (fale kaukau). In some cases, there are other structures as well, providing additional sleeping space. And there may also be an enclosure in which small animals such as chickens and pigs
351 are penned. Besides these structures, each 'api usually
[296] has a line or two of colorful laundry, and during the day there may be mats and bedding spread out to air. The look

342 Main houses are of various styles, with three basic types that range from traditional to modern according to the material used in construction. First, there is the oval or rectangular single-roomed house that is walled and thatched with mats of plaited coconut-leaf, ranging in size from about 10 x 15 feet to more than five times that large. Next, there are houses made of wood, raised up to three feet off the ground on wooden or concrete stilts, and none smaller than about 20 x 20 feet. And finally there are houses made of concrete blocks, the largest and most modern of all. All concrete houses and most wooden houses are roofed with sheets of corrugated iron. Many have a roof gutter leading to a large drum in which rainwater is stored. 312 514 555 177 648 Only three houses in Motulahi have an indoor toilet and bathroom with running water. Two of these belong to two of the richest men in the village; the third is the otherwise traditional-style house of the U.S. Peace-Corps worker who teaches at one of the local schools. Besides these houses, there are a few that have water from an outside tap on the 'api. People who do not have piped water make use of their neighbors' taps or the few public taps in the village. There are also shallow wells on a number of 'api. (Well water is used for laundry and other cleaning purposes but is recognized as being not safe to 373 drink.) A number of houses have electricity, used mainly for lighting, but most people make do with a kerosene lantern or a Coleman lamp.

/40 cont./

744 657 759 743 177

instruments which are nontheless still used. The dispenser working there often forgets his stethoscope when he makes house calls (he keeps it hanging in the open window in the rain); he often makes a diagnosis without touching the patients, and as medicine he dispenses mainly two kinds of tablets; the quarterly health inspection entrusted to him (dwellings, water supply, latrines) on the four islands in his charge he fails to carry out even annually, and then only very superficially.

744 657 563 177 [752] The few whites working in Tonga can naturally not take the drastic action they would in a colony, though they make a successful effort to keep "the machinery running." There are, however, several examples of surgical operations quite skilfully carried out by Tongan physicians, and in general this European system of health service has undoubtedly brought about many an improvement for the natives.

744 164 177 514 One achievement of the modern health service is the repression of the hookworm disease which formerly occurred rather frequently. It was combatted by the Tongan government with aid from a Rockefeller grant; around 1930, cement latrines were widely introduced. Today most Tongan families (88)

88. The author's count in 'Uiha/'Uiha and Fungamisis/Vava'u in 1952 showed, for example, that of 100 households (45 respectively) 83 (40 respectively) have cement latrines.

have such latrines which they /41/ can buy at a very low price from the government and "finish" as they wish.

744 164 [758] The fight against tuberculosis, however, is still very much in its beginnings. It is altogether unclear how many natives are afflicted with this disease; the simple mass examinations in the schools have not been able to give a reliable picture. The wherewithal is apparently lacking for combating it on a large scale. On the smaller islands of the

100: Koch--459 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9
Fijians OQ4

F 181 179 /304 cont./ wars and cannibalism belong to the distant past and the Fijians today are among the most good-natured and sociable natives of the Pacific.

F 142 144 Their physical build--like that of the Tongas--probably corresponds in general to that of their ancestors, although on these Islands there is a far larger group of half-castes (32)

32. Mostly European fathers and Fijian mothers; not often a Chinese, and very seldom an Indian parent.

as a result of the stronger European influence.

F 161 The Fijian population figure has also continually increased in the last few decades, but not nearly in the same proportion as that of the Tongans and Samoans; (33)

33. The number of Fijians decreased even many years before their surrender. In 1874 it was estimated at 150,000 (Derrick, The Fiji Islands /cited in English/. p. 130), and dropped further as a result of major epidemic until 1906. The upward development which then began experienced a further setback in 1919 (influenza epidemic), thus reaching the lowest known figure of 83,000 (Colony of Fiji, Annual Report 1950. p. 10). Since that time the Fijians have recovered; at the end of 1951 their number (official estimate) amounted to 132, 889 (Fiji Information. Vol. 2. No. 6. 1952)

F [731] D64

the birth figures in Fiji are lower than in Tonga and Samoa, whereas the death rate is higher.

F 744 1344 595 /305/With regard to health services in Fiji there is a change similar to that in Tonga, and, along with some native medicines and treatments which are still used even though they have been prohibited, there is considerable confidence in European medicine; besides the native medical practitioners /cited in English/ working in the Archipelago, women's committees have also been formed here for health care in the villages. As for sanitary equipment, the Tongans seem to be more progressive than the Fijians in building latrines and especially in building of "bath houses."

F 744 1344 595